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II.—ON THE JUDAEO-GERMAN SPOKEN BY THE RUSSIAN JEWS.

PART II.

The Verb.

The Jargon verb shows more than any other part of speech the thorough amalgamation of the three elements, Hebrew, Slavic, German. In its main features the verb is Germanic, but it has lost the imperfect tense and the subjunctive mood, at least as they are in German, and in its shades of meaning reproduces more correctly the Russian verb; besides, there are several ways of forming verbs from the Hebrew. The Jargon is richer in its verbs than any other of the European languages.

Derivation of Verbs.

The majority of verbs are derived from the German, and generally preserve the same meaning as in that language; but a number of them have a different signification, and many that have become obsolete or rare in German are in common use in the Jargon. Such verbs are *lernen* 'teach'; *folgen* 'do a favor,' as in *folg mir a gang* 'please go on an errand for me'; *zich rajben* 'move about,' as in *er hot zich geriben zwischen chazonim* 'he has moved in the society of cantors'; *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *iberfiren* 'spoil,' *zich gezegebenen* 'bid good-bye,' etc. A number of German verbs appear in a Slavic form, having added the suffix *ew* to the stem; these verbs generally get the meaning of the corresponding Slavic form, as *winschen* 'wish,' *winschewen* 'congratulate.' Under the influence of the Slavic a very large number of German verbs become middle, that is, they are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*.

Verbs from the Russian and Polish are treated like German verbs, as regards their conjugation; they generally keep the same meaning as in the Slavic, and are fully domesticated; such verbs are *zich farkatschen* (Rus. *zakatitj sebje*) 'roll up,' viz. the sleeves, *zukowen* (Rus. *kowatj*) 'weld,' *katewen* (Rus. *katitj*)

'strike,' *zich mutschen* (Rus. mutschitjsa) 'vex oneself,' *brukewen* (Pol. brukować) 'pave,' *farschpilen* (Pol. zaszpilić) 'pin,' *trejseln* (Rus. trasti) 'shake.'

A number of verbs are onomatopoeic or of foreign origin: *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *bentschen* (benedicere) 'bless,' *zidlen* (?) 'call names,' etc.¹

There are three ways in which verbs may be derived from Hebrew roots: 1. From nouns, by adding the usual ending *en* or *nen*, and sometimes German prefixes, for example: *zich cholemen* (H. חָלַם) 'dream,' *ganwenen* (H. גָּנַב) 'steal,' *opsamen* (T. סָם) 'poison,' *cheschbenen* (H. חִשְׁבֵּן) 'calculate,' *pejgern* (H. פָּגַר) 'die like an animal.' 2. By attaching the auxiliary *zajn* to the participle of Hebrew verbs: *zich mejaschew* (H. מַשְׁעָה) *zajn* 'consider,' *matriach* (T. מַטְרִיחַ) *zajn* 'ask a favor,' *mechabed* (H. מְכַבֵּד) *zajn* 'welcome,' *mekane* (H. מְקַנֵּא) *zajn* 'envy'; an adverbial form is sometimes used in the same way: *beköjach* (H. בְּקִיחַ) *zajn* 'be able.' 3. Adjectives, nouns, sometimes participles, are used with *hoben*, *weren*, *machen* and similar verbs: *möjre* (H. מוֹרֵא) *hoben* 'be afraid,' *chasene* (H. חֹתֵנָה) *hoben* 'get married,' *chöjzek* (H. חוֹזֵק ?) *machen* 'ridicule,' *poter* (H. פּוֹטֵר) *weren* 'get rid of.' These are real verbs, as many of them take the direct object.

The verbs are further changed in their meaning by special prefixes, all of German origin; many of them have, however, the strength of the corresponding Slavic ones, so that it is often easier to translate Jargon verbs into Russian and Polish than into German. The prefixes are separable or inseparable.

The separable prefixes, but little differing from the corresponding German ones, are *ous*, *ajn*, *on*, *ouf*, *um*. For example: *oushalten* 'endure,' *ousarbajten* 'work out,' *zich ajnhallen* 'abstain,'

¹Since writing this I have been preparing an Idiotikon of Slavo-Judaeo-German, and many etymologies given here as problematic have been precisely located. The most important fact so far discovered during my work is, that by far the greatest part of words of Slavic origin belong to the *White Russian* dialect. An investigation of registers and documents written in White Russian previous to the Lublin Union discloses to me the further fact that nearly all such words were introduced in Slavo-Judaeo-German previous to that Union. The Idiotikon will contain upwards of 100,000 quotations. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the reading of the proof-sheets of the first part of this article, and to Dr. I. M. Casanowicz for the reading of the second part and for valuable assistance in my work.

zich ajnheren 'listen attentively,' *onkuken* 'look at,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onkwelen* 'rejoice fully,' *zich onfchapen* (Rus. *chapatj* 'grasp') 'startle,' *zich umkeren* 'turn back.' *Op* expresses accomplished action, as in *opschlarben* 'decay, die,' *opschiken* 'send away,' as *er hot im opgeschikt in chejder arajn* 'he sent him to school'; otherwise it has the same meaning as the German *ab*, as in *oplejkenen* (G. *ableugnen*) 'deny.' *Iber* corresponds more to the Russian *pere*, Polish *prze*: *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberchazern* 'repeat,' *iberzomen* 'fence off.'

All the above-mentioned prefixes may be strengthened by *ar* = G. *her*: *aropkumen* 'come down,' *aropnemen* 'take off,' *arouskrichen* 'crawl out,' *arousgeben* 'give out,' *arajnkumen* 'come in,' *arajnlözen* 'let in,' *aribergejn* 'go over,' *arouffiren* 'lead up,' *arumgejn* 'go around,' *arumtrogen* 'carry around.'

The following are also separable: *awek* = G. *weg* and *hin*, *durch* = G. *durch* and Rus. *pere*, *zunouf* = G. *zusammen*, *anider* = G. *nieder* and *hin*, *noch* = G. *nach*, *fanander* = G. *auseinander*, and rarely *for*: *zich awekzezen* 'to sit down' (for a long time), *zich aweklözen* 'to start suddenly,' *durchforen* 'drive through,' *zich durchgejn* 'take a walk,' *zunoufklajben* 'gather together,' *zunoufskompanjen* 'make friends,' *zich aniderlejgen* 'lie down,' *nochmachen* 'imitate,' *zich fananderreden* 'get heated up in conversation,' *zich forschtelen* 'imagine.'

The inseparable prefixes are: *be*, *ge*, *far*, *der* = G. *er*, *ant* = G. *ent*. Examples: *zich bedingen* 'make an agreement,' *betrachten* 'look at,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gedenken* 'remember,' *zich glusten* 'have a desire,' *derheren* 'hear suddenly,' *derleben* 'live to see,' *antlöfflen* 'run away.' *Far* has more the meaning of the Russian *za*, and expresses sudden action; it is most frequently met with with participles: *farwarfen* 'toss up' (the head), *farmachen* 'close, shut,' *farflamt* 'all aflame,' *fartracht* 'deep in thoughts,' *farchöjschecht* (H. *חָשַׁךְ*) 'blackened, worked down.' *Zu* when separable = G. *zu*: *zügejn* 'walk up to'; when inseparable = G. *zer*, and is sometimes written *ze*: *zugéjn* 'melt.'

There are two aspects in the Jargon: The imperfect, to which the majority of verbs belong, and which expresses continuous or unfinished action: *gejn* 'go,' *chapen* 'seize,' *cheschbenen* 'calculate'; the perfect aspect expresses sudden or completed action, and is formed from the imperfect aspect by conjugating the simple verbal noun *gej*, *chap*, *cheschben* with one of the three verbs *tun*, *geben*, *derlangen*. For example: *er derlangt a chap* 'he suddenly seizes,' *er wet geben a cheschben* 'he will quickly calculate.'

There are five moods: indicative, conditional, infinitive, imperative, and the participle; and four tenses: present, imperfect, perfect, future.

Conjugation.

The auxiliaries *hoben*, *zajn*, *weren* are conjugated as follows:

Indicative.

Present Tense.

<i>ich hob</i> (ch'o)	<i>ich bin</i>	<i>ich wer</i>
<i>du host</i>	<i>du bist</i>	<i>du werst</i> (west)
<i>er hot</i>	<i>er iz</i>	<i>er wert</i> (wet)
<i>mir hoben</i>	<i>mir zenen</i> (zajnen)	<i>mir weren</i>
<i>ir hot</i>	<i>ir zent</i> (zajnt)	<i>ir wert</i>
<i>zej hoben</i>	<i>zej zenen</i> (zajnen)	<i>zej weren</i>

Imperfect.

<i>ich fleg</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du flegst</i>	
<i>er fleg</i> (flegt)	
<i>mir flegen</i>	
<i>ir flegt</i>	
<i>zej flegen</i>	

Perfect.

<i>ich hob</i> (ch'o) <i>gehat</i>	<i>ich bin gewesen</i> (gewén)	<i>ich bin geworden</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.

Future.

<i>ich wel</i> (ich el)	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du west</i> (du est)	
<i>er wet</i> (er et)	
<i>mir welen</i> (mir elen)	
<i>ir wet</i> (ir et)	
<i>zej welen</i> (zej elen)	

Conditional.

Present.—1st Form.

<i>ich zol</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du zolst</i>	
<i>er zol</i>	
<i>mir zolen</i>	
<i>ir zolt</i>	
<i>zej zolen</i>	

2d Form.

<i>ich wolt</i>	} <i>hoben, zajn, weren.</i>
<i>du wolst</i>	
<i>er wolt</i>	
<i>mir wolten</i>	
<i>ir wolt</i>	
<i>zej wolten</i>	

Past.—1st Form.

ich zol hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.
etc., etc.

2d Form.

ich wolt hoben gehat, hoben gewén, hoben geworden.
or *ich wolt gehat, gewén, geworden.*
etc., etc.

Infinitive.

hoben zajn weren

Imperative.

<i>lomich hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hob,</i>	<i>zaj, wer</i>
<i>lo3 er or zol er hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>lomir hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>
<i>hot,</i>	<i>zajt, wert</i>
<i>lo3en zej or zolen zej hoben,</i>	<i>zajn, weren</i>

Participle.

Present,	<i>hobendig</i>	<i>zajendig</i>	<i>werendig</i>
Past,	<i>gehat</i>	<i>gewezén (gewén)</i>	<i>geworen</i>

The present indicative presents no great peculiarities. The imperfect has disappeared, and the combination *ich fleg hoben* 'solebam habere, habebam' has been substituted instead; this is by no means a casual combination, but a tense-form used very frequently in description.¹ The future is very peculiar, not only

¹ I cannot help quoting a long passage from Scholem Alejchem's (S. Rabinowitsch's) novel 'Jöjsele Solowéj' to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense; it will also serve as a sample of Jargon style: "In der zajt wen ale chejder-junglech weren befrajt noch halben tog, me farschtekt di poles un me lo3t zich iber der shtot löjfen, schpringen, schpilen zich in ferdlech uchdöjme, fleg zich Jöjsele farklajben wajt, wajt ouf jener zajt bod, intern barg, un dort,

in that a form of the verb *welen* (cf. Eng. *will*, M. Greek *θελω*) is used, but also in that the form is not the same as the present tense of *welen*; I am inclined to think that the second and third persons singular and the second person plural are forms of the verb *weren*. How and when the amalgamation of these two verb-forms took place I have not yet investigated. I have never met with a future perfect of the auxiliaries, but such a form as *ich wel hoben gehat* seems to me to be admissible.

There are two forms for the conditional, and their uses will be explained later; the first form of the past is rare; the form *ich zol hoben gewén* is strange, but a similar mixture of *hoben* with *gewén* we shall meet later. The second form consists in the present of the imperfect of *welen*—(this and *fleg* are the only German imperfects left in Jargon)—with the infinitive of the auxiliary. In the past *ich wolt hoben* is attached to the past participle of the auxiliary; this form is rare, and instead the past participle is placed directly after the imperfect of *welen*. This is due to Slavic influence, which will become more evident when I shall treat of the conjugation of the verbs.

zumerleb, zich zuléjgen oufn grinem gro3 mitn ponim arouf, betrachten Gots weltel mit ale zajne beschefenischlech, fun di grôjse fejglen wos schweben in himel arajn biz di klejne rôjte gepintelte žuklech, wos hejsen ouf chejderloschen 'Möjsche-rabejnu's ferdelech,' mit di breklech mureschkes wos krichen, borblen zich in zamd trogendig un schlependig mit zich ganze schtiker gro3 oder schtrôj un löjfen mit dem schtark fartareramt zu zich in der nore arajn. Ligendig dort a3ôj fleg zich Jöjsele lib hoben ajnzuhören in di ferschiedene köjles un alerlej minim gezangen fun di fejgelech wos zenen iber zajn kop geflöjgen on a schir. . . . Nit ejn mol fleg er zich durchschmuesen mit der kúkuschke wos hot zich gelozt heren fun dem grôjzen monastirske gorten; ôjch di iberige schpilfejgelech, kanarkelech, fleg Jöjsele a3ôj kunzig iberkrumen a3 im alejn i3 nischt gring gewén zu trefen welchs zingt er un welchs 3ej, nor ajn solowéjtschik hot Jöjsele beschumôjfen nischt gekont nochmachen." Chejderjunglech = schoolboys, poles (Rus. poly) = skirts of dress, uchdôjme (H. וּכְדֹמֶה) = and so forth, farklajben = betake oneself, bod = bath-house, zumerleb = all summer-day long, ponim (H. פָּנִים) = face, beschefenischlech = little creatures, gepintelte = dappled, žuklech (Rus. žuk) = little bugs, chejderloschen (H. לְשׁוֹן + חֵדֶר) = school-language, breklech = little bits, mureschkes (Rus. muraschki) = little ants, fartareramt = excited, nore (Rus. nora) = hole, köjles (H. קוֹלֹת) = voices, minim (H. מִיָּנִים) = kinds, on a schir (G. Schier?) = without end, durchschmuesen (H. שְׂמוּעָה?) = have a talk, kúkuschke (Rus. kukuschka) = cuckoo, monastirske (Rus.) = belonging to cloister, kanarkelech (Pol. kanarek) = little canaries, iberkrumen = imitate, solowéjtschik (Rus. solowój) = little nightingale, beschumôjfen (H. בְּשׂוּם אֲזָנָן) = by no means.

A past infinitive I have never seen, and the present with *zu* used substantively has almost the value of a future infinitive. The present participle corresponds to the Russian gerundive (djejepritschastije) and is a verbal adverb; by getting the proper endings it becomes an adjective.

The imperative renders exactly the meaning of the Russian *pustj* and the Polish *niech* imperatives; the first and third persons express a concession. *Lomich* is evidently a contraction of *loz mich*, and *lomir* of *lozen mir*; it is strange that in the first person singular the accusative should be used and elsewhere the nominative of the pronoun; some authors write לֹמִיךְ *lom ich*, but, I believe, without any good reason. By suffixing the Polish particle *že* in the following manner: *lomirže hoben*, *lozerže hoben*, etc., we get a precative form similar to the Polish in meaning.

The Jargon has more modal auxiliaries than the German; they are: *zolen* 'shall,' *kenen* 'can,' *muzen* 'must,' *welen* 'will,' *darfen*, *bedarfen* 'ought,' *megen* 'may,' *toren* 'be allowed'; their past participles are: *gezolt*, *gekent* (*gekont*), *gemuẓt*, *gewolt*, *gedarft*, *bedarft*, *gemegt*, *getort*. They are conjugated like *hoben*. The present goes as follows: *ich muẓ*, *du must*, *er muẓ*, *mir muzen*, *ir must*, *zej muzen*. The other verbs are similarly conjugated, except *welen*, which has in the present *ich wil*, *du wilt*, etc. *Toren* is good Middle High German, and occurs as late as the sixteenth century; for example, in one of Paul Melissus Schede's songs:

" Teutschland (sags mit vergunst)
 Begabet ist mit mancher Kunst
 Derer sichs gar nit schemen thar."

Instead of *ich zol hoben gemuẓt*, etc., which is rare, the Polish dialect uses *ich zol gewén muzen*, and for *ich wolt gemuẓt* sometimes *ich wolt gewén muzen* is used; this is clearly an echo from the Polish form *gdybym ja był musiał*, and even the form *ich wolt gemuẓt* is Slavic (cf. Rus. *jesliby ja mog*), where the participle and the verb 'to be' are used respectively in the formation of the conditional.

The other verbs present few difficulties in the conjugation. The present of *zogen* 'say' is *ich zog*, *du zogst*, *er zogt*, *mir zogen*, *ir zogt*, *zej zogen*; the other tenses are conjugated like the auxiliaries. The verbs *töjgen* (G. *taugen*) 'valere,' *geheren* 'belong' have in the third person sing. of the pres. tense *töjg* and *gehér*. *Geben* is irregular in the present: *ich gib*, *du gist*, *er git*,

mir giben, ir git, zej giben; so also *wisen* 'know': *ich wejs, du wejst, er wejst, mir wejsen, ir wejst, zej wejsen*. Reflexive, reciprocal and middle verbs are conjugated with the reflexive *zich*, which, as in Slavic, remains the same for all persons, except when special emphasis is expressed. As in German, a number of verbs are conjugated with *zajn*, but their number is somewhat larger; such verbs are *blajben* 'remain,' *schtejn* 'stand,' *foren* 'ride,' *gejn* 'go,' *gefelen* 'please,' *kriichen* 'crawl,' *fligen* 'fly,' *zizen* 'sit,' *schlofen* 'sleep.' The past conditional of *schtejn*, for example, would be *ich zol hoben geschtanen* (rare) and *ich wolt geschtanen*; in Poland we hear *ich wolt gewén schtejn* and, even more Slavic in form, *ich wolt gewén geschtanen*. Very peculiar is the perfect of such verb-combinations as *mekane* (H. מְכָנָה) *zajn* 'envy,' in that it is invariably formed with *hoben*: *ich hob mekane gewén*.

The passive voice is formed with *weren*, as in German. Ind. pres., *ich wer geschlogen*; imperf., *ich fleg weren geschlogen* (or *geschlogen weren*); perf., *ich bin geworden geschlogen*; fut., *ich wel weren geschlogen*; cond. pres., *ich zol weren geschlogen* and *ich wolt weren geschlogen*; cond. past, *ich zol gewén geschlogen weren* and *ich wolt geworden geschlogen* and *ich wolt gewén geschlogen weren* (or *geworen*); inf., *weren geschlogen*; imp., *lomich geschlogen weren*, etc. Passives with *zajn*, as in German, are rare.

Most past participles of verbs of German origin are formed as in German, observing the rules treated in the chapter on Phonology, for example: *bajsen gebisen* 'bite,' *bigen geböjgen* 'bend,' *beten gebeten* 'bid,' *blozen geblozen* 'blow,' *blajben gebliben* 'remain,' *brenge gebracht* 'bring,' *foren geforen* 'drive,' *fligen gestöjgen* 'fly,' *gejn gegangen* 'go,' *gisen gegosen* 'pour,' *hejben gehejben* 'raise,' *kumen gekumen* 'come,' *löffen gelofen* 'run,' *ligen gelegen* 'lie,' *mesen gemosen* 'measure,' *nemen genumen* 'take,' *kwelen gekwolen* 'rejoice,' *rajben geriben* 'rub,' *schlofen geschlofen* 'sleep,' *schrajben gescriben* 'write,' *schrajen geschrigen* 'cry,' *schwajgen geschwigen* 'be silent,' *schweren geschworen* 'swear,' *schtejn geschtanen* 'stand,' *schtarben geschtorben* 'die,' *schttöjzen geschttöjzen* 'push,' *tun (ton) getun* 'do,' *warfen geworfen* 'throw,' *zwingen gezwungen* 'compel.' Many verbs that are irregular or of the old conjugation in German end in *t* in the Jargon: *baken gebakt* (also *gebaken*) 'bake,' *brenen gebrent* 'burn,' *gedenken gedenkt* 'remember,' *zich flajsen geflajst* 'exert one's self,' *glaj-*

chen geglajcht 'compare,' *kenen gekent* 'know,' *lozen gelozt* and *gelozen* 'let,' *melken gemelkt* 'milk.'

Verbs of Slavic or Hebrew origin get *t* in the participle, as *farkatschen farkatschet* 'roll up' (the sleeves), *mutschen gemutschet* 'vex,' *cheschbenen gecheschbent* 'figure.' *Ganwenen* 'steal' has *geganwet* and *dawnen* 'pray' has *gedawent*.

Adverbs.

Adverbs are derived mainly from German and Hebrew roots. Adverbs of place (motion is expressed by the suffix *a*): *arous* 'out'; *nischto* 'there is not,' for example: *kajn guter wind iz nischto* 'there is no good wind'; *inderhejm* (generally pronounced *indrejmn*) 'at home'; *ahejm* 'home'; *fàrán* (= Ger. vorhanden) 'in existence,' as in *es iz nischt fàrán* 'there does not exist'; *fun forint* 'in front'; *arop* 'down'; *aher* 'thither'; *ergiz* 'somewhere'; *hi* 'here'; *fun derwajtens* 'from afar'; *umetum* (= Ger. um und um) 'everywhere'; *inwejnig* 'within,' etc.

Adverbs of time: *densmol* 'at that time'; *pluzling* or *pluzim* 'suddenly'; *farzajten* 'formerly'; *gich* 'quickly'; *azund* or *zund* (*izt* in Lithuania) 'now'; *schtendig* 'always'; *hejn hejn* (H. רַחֲמָנִית) 'at times, at others,' as in *hejn in hebrejisch hejn in žargón* 'at times in Hebrew, at others in Jargon'; *tomid* (H. תָּמִיד) 'always'; *kesejder* (H. פְּסָקָה) 'in succession.'

Adverbs of manner generally end in *lich*, *isch* and *dig*: *beschajmperlich* (Ger. scheinbar?) 'evidently,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *knapisch* 'hardly,' *umberachmónesdig* (H. רַחֲמָנִית) 'merciless.' Many adverbs of manner are formed from plural nouns by the addition of *wajz* (Ger. weise): *schureswajz* (Tal. שְׁוֹרֵז) 'by lines,' *pudenwajz* (Rus. pud) 'by the 40 pounds,' *porlechwajz* 'by pairs'; also by the addition of a preposition: *zubis-lechwajz* 'little by little.' *Kløjmerscht* and *kløjmperscht* (Tal. פְּלֹרֵם) 'so to say.'

Hebrew and Talmudic adverbs generally keep the original form: *bewade* and *awade* (Tal. וְדֵא) 'surely,' *bekizer* (Tal. בְּקִיצוֹר) 'in short,' *aderabe* (Tal. אֲדֵרְבָּה) 'on the contrary,' *mistome* (Tal. מִסְתָּמָה) 'perhaps, of course.'

Other adverbs are: *lejrech* (H. לְעֵרֵךְ) 'nearly'; (*ajn*) *emes* (H. אֵמֶת) 'for a fact'; *amêr* 'rather,' as in *amêr fregt a kasche* (Tal. מִשְׁפָּחָה) 'why do you not rather ask a question'; *umzist* 'in vain'; *borfes* 'barefoot'; *fort* 'in spite of it,' as in *zej mužen zich doch fort ajnreden* 'they imagine in spite of it'; *chotsche* (Rus.

chotjá) 'at least'; *kimat* (H. כִּמַּט) 'scarcely'; *až* (Polish *aż*) 'almost'; *hendum pendum* 'helter-skelter'; *efscher* (Tal. אֶפְשֶׁר) 'perhaps'; *lemoschel* (H. לִמְשָׁחַל) 'for example.' *Mischtéjnsgezogt* is an expression of compassion like the German *leider*; the etymology of the word is hard to ascertain; perhaps it is a corruption of *nischt uns gezogt*, which in the South is pronounced *nischt ins gezogt* and would mean 'not in our case be it said'; a similar formula is frequently used when some misfortune is mentioned, as if to ward off the evil influence.

Under the head of adverbs mention must be made of the particles that form an important factor in Jargon style. The German particles *gor*, *doch*, *je* (Ger. *ja*), *den* are used in a slightly different sense. The Slavic *ot* (Rus. *wot*), *že*, *take* are of frequent occurrence. Examples: *a doktor ken amól gor zajn a kelbel* 'a doctor may sometimes indeed be a little calf,' *ot schtelt men im arajn zen zelnier zu hodewen* 'behold, they station ten soldiers in his house to take care of them.' *Take* may precede and follow the emphasized word: *Take beémes take wer iz er azöjns gewén?* 'Who, in reality, was he?' Several particles may be used together: *nor was den že?* 'what else could it be?' *zej hoben doch take je gemogt halten fun der gemore* 'they surely ought to have observed the rulings of the Gemara.' The indefinite pronoun *epes* (Ger. *etwas*) is frequently only a particle: *do muz epes zajn a krezele* 'there must be some trouble there.' The Hebrew word *schum* (Tal. שׁוּם) is used as an expletive: *kajn schum mensch* 'not a man.'

Prepositions.

The most of the prepositions are of German origin, but their use is more in accord with the corresponding Slavic ones. All prepositions in the Jargon take the dative case after them. Examples: *ich hob geschlossen leben* (or *neben*) *zajn wigel* 'I slept near his cradle,' *Jiden hoben getanzt arum dem goldenem kalb* 'Jews danced around the golden calf,' *der mensch iz derschaffen geworen noch dem zejlem* (H. אֶלֶם) *fun Got* 'man was created in the image of God,' *zej zolen gut ton dem ger* (H. גֵּר) *wos wöjnt zwischen zej* 'they ought to be good to the unbeliever who lives among them,' *di was hoben gelacht ous der libe* 'those who ridiculed love,' *wegen zajn zdoke* (H. צִדְקָה) *geben erzejlt zich azá majse* (H. מַעֲשֵׂה) 'the following story is told in regard to his giving alms.'

The following prepositions, of frequent occurrence and greatly differing in their use from the German ones, must be treated separately:—

Fun is used like the English *of*, where in German the genitive would stand: *in der shtot iz men derfun gewor geworden* 'they found that out in town.' It generally corresponds to the German *von* in the sense of *from* and *by*: *di friere chawejrīm* (חַוְּרִים) *hoben zich fun im derwajtert* 'his former friends were alienated from him,' *ousgemutschet* (Rus.) *fun der schwerer togarbajt* 'worn out by the heavy daily work,' *Chajim hot gelejent hōjch fun a geschriben bichel* 'Chajim read aloud from a written book,' *Jōjsef iz farkōjft geworden fun zajne brider* 'Joseph was sold by his brothers.' Sometimes it corresponds to the English *in*: *di uroken* (Rus. *uroki*) *zenen beschtanen fun schrajben jidisch* 'his lessons consisted in writing Hebrew.' After comparatives *fun* may be used instead of *wi*, precisely as in Russian the genitive is used there: *wos darf ich mer shtolz zajn funm oremán?* 'why should I be prouder than the poor man?'

The use of *ouf* will be seen from the following examples: *kejner hot zich ouf im nischt arumgekukt* 'nobody paid any attention to him,' *er iz nischt mekáne* (חַוְּנָה) *gewén ouf kajn rajchkajt* 'he did not envy his riches,' *mir hoben ouf zej a chōjw* (חַוְּו) 'we have a bill against them,' *iz es meglich du zolst zajn ouf azōj fil karg?* 'is it possible that you are stingy to such a degree?' *ich wel dich konen oushelfen ouf dajn elter* 'I shall be able to assist you in your old age,' *ich muz horewen* (Pol.) *tog un nacht oufn trukenem shtikel brōjt* 'I must work day and night for a piece of dry bread,' *men ruft dos hep ouf zejer loschen* (חַוְּשִׁין) 'they call it hep in their language,' *zej hoben im farbrent ouf köjl* 'they burned him to coal.'

Mit renders precisely the Russian *s* with the ablative or the ablative without a preposition: *jederer wos interesirt zich mit der žargonischer literatur* 'every one who is interested in Jargon literature,' *ale wajber hoben zich mit im gebentscht* 'all women said a benediction over him,' *er hot ongehejben zu firen a leben ful mit zores* (חַוְּרִית) 'he began leading a life full of troubles,' *er hot zich frajndlich mit im gezeigent* 'he bid him a friendly adieu,' *ich wil mich zuschejden mit majne chawejrīm* (חַוְּרִים) 'I shall part with all my friends,' *zurik mit etliche teg* 'a few days ago,' *winziger mit a chawer* 'a friend less,' *elter mit a jor zen* 'some ten years older.'

Far stands for the German *für* and *vor*: *er hot ongezogt farn töjt* 'he commanded them before his death,' *ot a3öj hot Leje zich ousserget dos harz far ir guten frajnd Nechame* 'thus did Lea open her heart to her good friend Naomi,' *zum sof* (H. סוף) *hot er gefunen far nejtig* 'finally he found it necessary.'

'Into' is expressed in Jargon by *in*—*arajñ*: *zej hoben im gefirt jungerhejd in kejwer* (H. יָבֵר) *arajñ* 'they took him to his grave while he was still young,' *zi hot illichen gezogt dem emes* (H. אָמֶס) *in ponim* (H. פִּנִּים) *arajñ* 'she told the truth to everybody's face.'

There is only one Slavic preposition used in Jargon; namely, *wedlig* (Pol. *według*) 'according to': *zi zet ous jinger wedlig ire joren* 'she looks younger than her years.' Hebrew prepositions are of frequent occurrence: *achuz* or *chuz* (H. חוץ) 'besides,' *machmäs* (T. מַחְמָס) 'on account of,' *beéjs* (H. בְּעֵינַי), *beschäs* (Tal. בְּשַׁעַת) 'during.'

Conjunctions.

By far the greatest number of conjunctions are of German origin; among these *a3* occurs most frequently and has the greatest variety of meanings; it is the German 'dass, als, da, wenn': *er farschtejt nischt a3 dos umglik ken zajñ* 'he does not understand that the misfortune may happen,' *a3 er iz schöjn gor der frumer* 'if he pretends to be pious.' *A3* enters into combinations with prepositions, thus changing them into conjunctions: *nochdem a3 zi hot zich arumgekukt* 'after she had looked around.'

Wi has the meaning of 'as, however': *wi du wejst* 'as you know,' *wi umgerecht der mensch iz* 'however wrong the man may be'; *wi* enters into combinations with a number of adverbs, as *wi bald köjfen* 'if at all we buy,' *a3öj wi zej hoben gedenkt zajñ taten* 'since they remembered his father.' Other conjunctions are *nor*, *worum*, *zint*, *öjb*, *ejder*, *sajden*, *biz*: *nor wos macht men a3öjne lajt far kol?* (H. לָמָּה) 'but why do they choose such men to the congregation?' *worum di negidim* (H. נִגְיִדִים) *zenen ejns mit kol* 'for the rich are one with the congregation,' *zint* (G. seit) *me nemt rekruten* 'from the time that men have been recruited,' *öjb* (G. ob) *zi firt zich nischt ordentlich* 'if she does not behave,' *ejder* (G. ehe, perhaps elliptic for *eh' der Zeit*) *ich hob mich arumgekukt* 'before I looked around,' *sajden* (G. es sei denn) *er ken nischt kumen* 'except, indeed, he cannot come,' *biz di böjd fort zu zu der achsanje* (Tal. אָכְסַנְיָה) 'while the wagon drives up to the inn.'

Three Polish conjunctions are of very frequent occurrence: *abi* (Pol. *aby*), *chotsche* (Pol. *choć*), *zi* (Pol. *czy*). Examples: *abi zej zenen gut* 'if only they are good,' *chotsche er wejs nischt* 'although he does not know,' *du bist meschuge* (H. מִשְׁעֻגָּה) *zi choser defe* (H. הִסְרִידֶךָ) 'you are crazy or beside yourself.'

Interjections.

The Jargon is remarkably rich in interjections, of which some are onomatopoeic or mere sounds, others are corruptions of words or whole sentences. To the first class belong such as *ach*, *i*, *oj*, *ha*, *och*, *ta*, *nu*, *na*, *scha*, *et et*, *fe*, *aha*. Examples: *Ach*, *Senderl, ich hob fargesen* 'O, Alec, I have forgotten,' *i, Binjomin, wos falt dir ajn?* 'go away, Benjamin, what are you talking about?' *oj, biter*, *oj* 'oh, bitter it is,' *ha?* 'what's that?' *och iz mir* 'woe to me,' *ta, es iz do* 'granted there is,' *nu?* 'well, what of that?' *et et, es ken nischt zajn* 'I do not believe it, it is impossible,' *fe* 'be ashamed,' *aha* expresses surprise, *na dir* (Rus. *na tjebjé*) 'there you have it,' *scha* 'be silent.' The last two have a plural formed like the imperative: *nat ajch* 'there you have,' *schat kinder* 'be silent, children.' To the second class belong words like *hajda*, *nebich*, *chleben*, *stajtsch*, *mischlejnsggezogt*. *Hajda* is German and expresses quick motion: *hajda ahejm* 'let us be gone.' The origin of *nebich*, which means nearly the same as the German 'leider,' I am unable to give¹; *er ken nebich nit kumen* 'poor fellow, he cannot come.' *Chleben* is a contraction of *ich zol leben*: *zej hoben ale gemegt chleben blajben in der hejm* 'they all might have stayed at home, upon my word.' *Stajtsch* is frequently used in expressing surprise or expecting an explanation, and is evidently a contraction of *iz tajtsch?* 'what is that in German?' i. e. 'what is the meaning of it?' just as *fartajtschen* means 'translate': *stajtsch, un di welt?* 'well, and the world, what will it say?'

IV.—INTERRELATION OF COMPONENT ELEMENTS.

The previous chapters contain sufficient explanation of the manner in which Hebrew and Slavic words enter into the composition of the Jargon. It now remains to ascertain the numerical relation between the three elements. For this purpose one thousand consecutive words in three different stories written by

¹ Perhaps *nebich* is the Polish *niech Bóg* in the sentence *niech Bóg broni* 'may God avert,' a very common phrase in the mouths of Poles.

different authors were investigated, and the following result was obtained: In Benami's 'Di kindersche joren,' out of 1000 words 51 are of Hebrew, 34 of Slavic origin; in S. Rabinowitsch's 'Stempenju,' out of the same number 69 words are Hebrew, 17 Slavic; while in Sch. J. Abramowitsch's 'Dos klejne menschele,' 88 were found to be of Hebrew, 23 of Slavic origin. Averaging all three we would get 6.9 per cent. Hebrew and 2.5 per cent. Slavic words, or less than 10 per cent. of non-Germanic words composing Jargon speech.

By compiling a vocabulary out of some 20 pages quite different results were obtained. The text gave 1897 words, of which 1342 were of German, 320 of Hebrew, 131 of Slavic, 68 of uncertain origin, and 36 proper names. This would make the proportion as follows: 70.7 per cent. German, 16.8 per cent. Hebrew, 6.9 per cent. Slavic, 3.6 per cent. uncertain, and 2 per cent. proper names; thus about 30 per cent. of the Jargon vocabulary (not Jargon speech) are of non-Germanic origin. On a closer investigation this proportion, I believe, will be found to be about the correct one.

Of the 1342 German words the following have become obsolete in German or show marked deviations in meaning or form from the corresponding German words: *achtung* 'care,' *ajtlejgen* (*di welt*) 'make much ado,' *aksel* 'shoulder,' *arbel* 'sleeve,' *aweklozen zich* 'start travelling,' *azund* 'now,' *behalten zich* 'hide,' *bejgel* 'doughnut,' *bejnken zich* 'be homesick,' *bezezen zich* 'settle,' *bekleren* 'consider,' *benemen* 'grasp, conceive,' *beschajmperlich* 'evidently,' *bewajbt* 'married,' *brikel* 'stile, front steps,' *brimblen* 'hum' (a song), *dachten zich* 'seem,' *ejgener* 'relation by blood,' *ek* 'end, tail,' *eken zich* 'come to an end,' *eller* (*di*) 'old age,' *emizer* 'somebody,' *epes* 'something, somehow,' *ergez* 'somewhere,' *elliche* 'some,' *farbinden* (*a schmues*) 'engage' (in a conversation), *farfalen* 'lost, in vain,' *fargejn zich* 'faint,' *farglozt* 'staring,' *farklajben zich* 'betake oneself,' *farnumen* 'busy,' *farschlept* 'chronic,' *farschtelen zich* 'mask,' *fartrachten zich* 'fall to musing,' *fartrogen* 'busy,' *farwist* 'disconsolate,' *farzin* 'start a tune,' *farzëenisch* 'appearance,' *feter* 'uncle,' *flajsen zich* 'attempt,' *fort* 'still, nevertheless,' *gefinen* 'find,' *gel* 'yellow,' *gepilder* 'noise,' *geschmak* 'considerably,' *gewaldernisch* 'loud screaming,' *gich* (G. *gach*, *jäh*) 'quick,' *glajch wi* 'just if,' *glajche wertlech* 'bon mots,' *glat* 'simply,' *gring weren* 'feel better,' *gwald* 'noise,' *harzklemenisch* 'heart-pain,' *hentschke* 'glove,' *hi* 'here,' *iberbeten*

zich (Rus. pereprositjsja) 'make peace,' *iberkeren zich* 'change religion,' *iberkrumen*, *ibernemen* 'imitate,' *iberrajszen* 'interrupt,' *iberschrajbechz* 'correspondence,' *itlicher* 'everybody,' *jöjch* (G. Jauche) 'soup,' *kest esen* 'board,' *klajben zich* 'get ready,' *klejn-warg* 'little children,' *kleren* 'meditate,' *kochenisch* 'excitement,' *krenk (di)* 'disease,' *kuken* 'look,' *kwelen* 'rejoice,' *lajblich* 'staunch,' *lajtisch* 'gentlemanly,' *lichtig* 'bright, glorious,' *mansbil* 'man,' *mume* 'aunt,' *mejnst* 'most,' *nechten* 'yesterday,' *nechtigen* 'stay over night,' *obschaj* 'respect, awe,' *oftlich* 'somewhat often,' *ombajsen* 'breakfast,' *ongrejten* 'prepare,' *onhejben* 'begin,' *onhöjb* 'beginning,' *onkeren zich* 'belong,' *onkumenisch* 'happy occurrence,' *onwajzen* 'point out,' *opgejn* 'lack,' *opgeschlisen* 'ragged,' *oplejkenen* 'deny,' *oprufen zich* 'echo,' *opzegnen zich* 'bid goodbye,' *ousgejn* 'faint,' *ousgeschtrozelt* 'decked out,' *ousgezwoogen* 'combed, fixed up,' *ouswalgern zich* 'wallow,' *ouswajzen* 'appear,' *öjberkepel* 'guide,' *pizel* 'little piece,' *pluzim*, *pluzling* 'suddenly,' *redel* 'crowd,' *rudern* 'stir,' *rumplen* 'make a noise,' *schmek (tábeke)* 'pinch,' *schmeken* 'smell,' *schmiz* 'thrust,' *schnur* 'daughter-in-law,' *schpären zich* 'be obstinate, press forward,' *schtark* 'very much,' *schteltel* 'posture,' *schtendig* 'always,' *schul* 'synagogue,' *schwer* 'father-in-law,' *schwiger* 'mother-in-law,' *toren* 'be allowed,' *trer* 'tear,' *tromejt* 'trumpet,' *umgelumpert* 'awkward,' *umedum* (G. um und um) 'everywhere,' *umetig* 'sad,' *unterhaller* 'second' (in music), *warmes* 'dinner,' *wertlen* 'exchange words,' *winzig wos* 'hardly any,' *worum* 'because,' *wu nit wu* 'somewhere,' *züleb* (G. zu lieb) 'on account of,' *zunēmen* 'unfold,' *zunemenisch* 'surname,' *zúzogen* 'promise.'

Dr. Zunz's remarks¹ in regard to the rôle that the Hebrew plays in the Judæo-German will also hold true with the Jargon. He says that the Hebrew words are used for things from the sphere of Judaism and Jewish life, for conceptions with which Jews got acquainted through the study of Jewish lore, for several expressions from the language of every-day life, and for objects for which Jews purposely would give no German name. Avé-Lallemant has given a copious dictionary² of the Hebrew constituent of the Judæo-German, but he errs in giving entirely too much, as it contains purely Hebrew expressions that have never become domesticated and forms of verbs which do not occur in the Judæo-German. Of 320 Hebrew words received by the

¹ Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden von Dr. Zunz, p. 453 sqq.

² Das deutsche Gaunerthum von Avé-Lallemant, vierter Theil.

above-mentioned method, 56 are adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, mainly from the Talmud; ten are participial forms conjugated with *zajn*, as *מחל* 'be so kind,' *מקנא* 'envy,' *יוצא* 'do one's duty,' *מפדל* 'ask a favor'; one with *weren*: *פטייר* 'get rid of.' Ten verbs are formed with German prefixes and suffixes: *schadchenen* (Tal. *שחדן*) 'make a match,' *chanfenen* (H. *חנף*) 'flatter,' *ganwenen* (H. *גנב*) 'steal,' *farganwenen zich*, *unterganwenen zich* 'sneak in,' *tajnen* (Tal. *טענה*) 'argue,' *farsamen* (Tal. *פסם*) 'poison,' *arouspatern* (H. *פטייר*) 'get rid of,' *farschikert* (H. *שכר*) 'drunk.' Ten adjectives end in *dig*, *isch*, *er*; for example, *möjredig* (H. *מועד*) 'terrible,' *chazonisch* (Tal. *חזן*) 'of a cantor,' *emeser* (H. *אמת*) 'true.' Twenty-three words not verbs have German or Russian affixes, as *kalewajz* (H. *קלל* + G. *weise*) 'while being a bride,' *widerköjl* (G. *wieder* + H. *קול*) 'echo,' *chewrenik* (H. *חבר* + R. *nik*) 'one of a company.' The rest consists of nouns used in the form in which they occur in Hebrew, only the pronunciation being changed.

Of the Slavic words about one-half are taken directly from the Russian, nearly the same number from the Polish, and the rest either from Little Russian or local dialects. These words represent a variety of ideas; they are the names of plants and animals: *jágede* 'blackberry,' *ágres* 'gooseberry,' *indik* 'turkey'; or special Slavic dishes: *moróžne* 'ice cream,' *barschtsch* 'cream soup with turnips and cucumbers,' *wetschere* 'supper.' Others express endearment, as *ljubke* 'darling,' *chwat* 'fine fellow'; or family relations: *tate* 'father,' *mame* 'mother,' *bobe* 'grandmother.' Objects of native industry or imported goods have the Slavic form: *lópete* 'spade,' *smik* 'bow of a violin,' *schpakulen* 'spectacles,' *stejngel* 'ribbon,' *sloj* 'jar,' *bulke* 'small loaf of bread,' *barabán* 'drum,' *kápelesch* 'hat,' *kawe* 'coffee.' Verbs expressing order and command are derived from Slavic: *prawen* 'order about,' *poradkewen* 'make order,' *komandewen* 'command.' Scientific terms get the Russian form, with the ending *e*, however: *biografije* 'biography,' *reforme* 'reform.' A number of adjectives, hard to classify, are derived mainly from the Polish: *pisne* 'beautiful,' *same* 'very,' *prikre* 'bitter, disagreeable,' *pust* 'empty,' *modne* 'newfangled,' *ženske* 'female,' *kolleneuate* 'having the plica.' Also many abstract nouns come from the same source: *postempek* 'deed,' *zekawest* 'curiosity,' *nówine* 'news,' *dolje* 'lot,' *antik* 'delicacy.' Objects and ideas of country life are nearly all Polish: *snop* 'garb,' *horewen* 'work hard,' *hodewen* 'bring up,

rear,' *penten* 'put on the fetlock, fetter,' *grude* 'pile,' *torbe* 'wallet,' *majontek* 'possession, farm,' *scharjen* 'dawn.' Many verbs from the Slavic are hard to classify, but the most of them seem to be onomatopoeic: *chripen* 'squeak,' *chrapen* 'snore,' *leptschen* 'mumble,' *swistschen* 'blow, whistle,' *achken*, *ochken* 'wonder,' *katschen* 'roll,' *chapen* 'seize,' *blichtschen* 'glimmer,' *smalen* 'roast,' *mutschen* 'vex,' *chlipen* 'sob.'

Of the words of uncertain origin some have a German, others a Slavic appearance, others again are either of foreign origin or onomatopoeic; such words are *lokschen* 'vermicelli,' *onweren* 'lose,' *schlek* 'plague,' *grajz* 'mistake,' *zideln* 'call names, quarrel,' *nebich* 'alas,' *schir* (on a *schir*)¹ 'limit,' *lekach* (G. *Lebkuch*?) 'cake,' *schtifen* 'cut up,' *sarwer* (French *servir*?) 'usher,' *schlag* 'cage,' *klejt* 'store,' *schtejger* 'manner,' *bentschen* (L. *benedicere*) 'bless,' *aren* 'worry,' *zejde* 'grandfather,' *zubúzken* 'strike against each other,' *arumblankewen* 'fidget about,' *kajkel* (Greek *κύκλος*?) 'circle,' *kajlechig* 'round,' *zutipen* 'beat time,' *mizkedrinen* 'all of a sudden (?)', *rendel* 'rouble,' *zuplézt* 'flat' (nose), *schmizern* 'chirp,' *terelajken* 'trill,' *ampern zich* 'talk lively,' *arumpadkewen* 'pay constant attention.'

V.—SYNTAX.

Order of Words in Jargon Speech.

The transposed order of the German subordinate clause does not appear in the Jargon. In the direct order the subject with its modifiers comes first; the auxiliary and short modifiers of the predicate and the personal pronouns (direct and indirect objects or with prepositions) follow; then is placed the predicate, followed by the modifiers of the same: *ich hob akegen a por minut zich geborbet in der buzemkeschene un arousbekumen fun dort geschribene papiren* 'for a few minutes I rummaged in my coat-pocket and brought out from there some written documents,' *di köjles hoben zich alz derwajtert un zich fartrogen gor in an ander zajt* 'the voices were carried further and further and took an entirely different direction.' The same order is used in subordinate clauses: *ich bin gegangen biz ich bin gekumen zu a ganz gröjsen plaz farwoksen mit groz* 'I walked until I came to a very large spot entirely covered with grass,' *az ich bin abisel zu zich gekumen hob ich derzén wi di kljatsche kajt hej ganz ru'g* 'when I came

¹ There may be compared the post-Bibl. *שְׁעוֹר* 'measure, pensum,' and *הַשְׁעָרָה* 'estimation, calculation'; comp. also *שְׁעָר*, Prov. 23, 7.

to I noticed the mare chewing quietly hay.' The pronoun may sometimes follow the infinitive or participle; *itlicher hot lib arajnzuschtipen zich* 'everybody likes to meddle,' or it may stand before the auxiliary: *wos ich hob gezén un wos mit mir hot zich pasirt* 'what I have seen and what has occurred to me.' Frequently, however, the infinitive or participle stands at the end, either in analogy with a preceding short sentence, where the same would naturally be at the end, or for the sake of rhythm, which influences even Jargon prose: *ot wos di mame hot mir mit a wejnendig kol derzejlt* 'as to what mother told me while weeping,' *jene narische majses mit welche du host dir dem kop far-schlogen* 'those foolish stories with which you have crammed your head full.' The separable prefix generally stands near the verb: *zej schterchen ouf di welt et azöj mit gornischt* 'they make a great ado about nothing.'

The inverted order is used in the same cases in which it occurs in German; *zajn nomen wet ir gefinen do ongeschriben ouf di zachen welche er hot gemacht* 'his name you will find written in the works which he has produced,' *un wemen andersch hoben mir gekent ousklajben wen take nischt ajch?* 'whom else could we have chosen if not you?' *zol priwen ejner machen epes a gescheftel bald take tut im der iberiger öjlom noch* 'let any one attempt openly some business, at once the other people will imitate him,' *far wos nischt zi? ruf ich mich on* 'why not she? I exclaimed,' *es hot mir denstmol epes schrecklich zich gedrejt der kop* 'at that time my head was fearfully dizzy.' Infinitives and participles head the sentences much more frequently than in German, causing inversion: *köjfen an andersch hob ich nit gehat far epes* 'I did not have any money to buy another,' *gehodewet hob ich zich wi a wild ferd in step* 'I was raised like a wild horse in the steppe.' In Jargon, as in Russian, emphasis in the verb is produced by repeating it in the infinitive and placing it at the beginning of the sentence; as before, it causes inversion: *schlepen schlept zich es schtendig arum un horewet efscher noch mer fun jene wos firen tajere s-chöjre un esen ober est es makes* 'it is walking around all the time and works perhaps more than those that carry costly goods, yet it gets nothing to eat.' The inverted order occurs as frequently in subordinate clauses: *ich hob geklert az bald west du zurik ahejm kumen* 'I thought that you would soon come back home,' *es art ajch klal nischt az dort machen ferd umgliklich fil menschen* 'you do not care at all that the

horses there are bringing misfortune on many men.' In subordinate clauses the direct question is frequently used instead of the indirect one; in this case the order may be inverted: *der kop wert mir zuschpotten trachtendig wos ken es zajn* 'my head cracks with thinking what it may be.' A present participle used as a gerundive (q. v.) heads the sentence: *oufeshendig di öjgen hob ich gezén ich lig ousgezöjgen ouf dem pol leben bet* 'as I opened the eyes I saw that I was lying stretched out on the ground near the bed.' A story frequently begins with a Hebrew quotation and a close translation of it into Jargon, in the manner in which Hebrew scripture and the Talmud are translated in the schools; in this case the inverted order or disorder is allowable; for example, *אמר מענדעל מוהר־ספרים zagt Mendele möjchersforim* 'Mendele, the bookseller, says.' Sometimes the subject is followed by a long subordinate clause; in this case the verb of the principal clause is again followed by the personal pronoun as its subject: *a jid, az er wet zich nischt schtupen mit gewald, wet er megen ejbig take dort warten* 'if a Jew will not press forward with all his might and main he will have to wait there forever.' An answer to a rhetorical question may be inverted: *wos-ze hot er geton az me hot im gehejsen onwajzen dem ganew? iz er gefallen ouf an ejze un hot ongehejben geben simonim* 'what did he do when they asked him to point out the thief? He thought of a scheme and began giving signs.'

Agreement.

In general the rules for agreement are the same as in German. No case-form is used after words expressing measure, weight, etc., but this is carried much further in the Jargon; we find not only such forms as *a schok epel* 'three-score apples,' *di chewre klezmer* 'the band of musicians,' but also *a lefel gekechz* 'a spoonful of soup,' *a ganejden frejd* 'a paradise of joy.' Frequently an auxiliary verb is made to serve two purposes, as in *dos harz wert ful, zuwejkt un es schtelen zich treren in di öjgen* 'the heart becomes full, is softened, and tears fill the eyes,' where *ful* is an adjective and *zuwejkt* with *wert* the passive. One of the most common anacolutha occurs when a number of perfect tenses follow each other; the first auxiliary alone remains, although a different one would be used with the other verbs: *du bist geworden alz schlafer un schlafer un zich arajngelejgt zum sof in bet* 'you kept on growing weaker and finally you went to bed,' *ich bin,*

farschtejt zich, gegangen, geweint, gebeten 'of course I went, cried, asked,' *di mejdlech zenen gor gebliben schtejn zugekowet zu zejere erter wi di token, kukendig ouf Stempenjun mit zajn zouberlich fidele, nischt gerirt mit kejn ejwer, nischt gepintelt mit kejn öjg* 'the girls stopped spellbound, like dolls, looking at Stempenju with his magic violin; they did not move a limb, did not wink an eye.' The first may be a reflexive verb, the second one not: *ich hob mich getapt un gekukt zejz farwundert in ale zajten* 'I groped around and looked astonished on all sides.'

Russian influence is clearly seen in the manner in which the verb *zajn* is used; a plural subject may stand with the singular *iz*, especially if the subject comes last: *oufn harz iz aözj fil wejtigen* 'there are so many pains in the heart,' *s'iz du* 'it is you,' *junge lajt iz do umetum* 'young men are to be found everywhere.' The verb *zajn* may be omitted if some form of it occurs in the following sentence, closely connected with the first: *wu zwej zol er zajn a driter* 'where two are let him be the third.' A collective word, though in the singular, generally takes the predicate in the plural: *a tejl hoben gezogt* 'a part of them said.' As in Russian, *mit* is frequently used for the connective *un*; the predicate remains in the plural: *ich mit majn bruder gejn in drousen* 'I and my brother are walking out.'

Moods and Tenses.

The first form of the conditional is used in almost the same way as the English *should* form; for example, *mir farlangen fun ajch ir zolt gut iberkuken di papiren* 'we want you carefully to look over the documents,' *ale zajne frajnd glust zich zejz a3 zajne majses zolen kesejder opgedrukt un farköjft weren* 'all his friends want to see his stories, one after the other, printed and sold,' *keděj ich zol schpeter nizlich zajn in der welt* 'in order that I may be later on useful in the world,' *ach, wen di doktöjrim zolen beser farschtejn un mich befragen fun jene schmochtelaen* 'oh, if the physicians only knew better and would deliver me from those trifles.' Sometimes it represents exactly the Russian subjunctive: *nor a3 zi hot gezén a3 es iz arousgeworfene rejd wifil zi zol nischt reden* 'but when she saw that her speech was in vain, no matter how much she spoke' (cf. Rus. skóljko oná by nje goworíla). In conditional sentences the second form is used, but in the protasis the first is preferred: *wen zi zol nischt gewén machen mit di zajten un sapen wolt men zicher gemejnt do ligt a newejle*

'if she did not move her sides and breathe heavily one would think that there lay a corpse'; so also the second form is used in sentences that may be construed as apodoses of defective conditional clauses: *ich wolt awade geköfft nor wu nemt men di kaz?* 'I certainly should have bought, but where can one find the purse?'

The infinitive without *zu* is much more frequently used than in German: *lejg zich schlofen* 'go to bed,' *er hot zich genumen schrajben a brif* 'he sat down to write a letter,' *jeder iz najgirig a kuk tun* 'everybody is curious to look.' The infinitive with *zu* after verbs of motion is equal to the German past participle: *er kumt zu foren* 'er kommt gefahren.' A number of prepositions, especially those of Hebrew origin, may stand with the infinitive: *ejn jor far majn geböjren weren* 'a year before my birth,' *bichdēj zu derkenen di welt* 'in order to recognize the world,' *er krechzt nebich beējs dem schmajsen* 'the poor fellow groans while being whipped,' *beschās lejenen* 'during the reading'; a similar use of the infinitive occurs in *nischt recht zu wisen* 'without well knowing.' The repetition of the verb in the infinitive, as in Russian, for emphasis, has been discussed before: *nor tun tut men gornischt* 'but they do absolutely nothing.'

The participle is used in precisely the same manner as in Russian. It is used to express time: *tundig dos zogt zi mit a zifz* 'doing this she said with a sob,' *opgezungen dem הָגְרוּת הָלָלוּ* *me wascht zich un me zezt zich esen wetschere* 'having sung the הָגְרוּת הָלָלוּ they wash themselves and sit down to supper.' With the negative *nischt* it is to be translated into English by the participle with 'without': *Mechtsche pajkler krazt zich dos bewaksene halbe ponim nischt kukendig ouf kejnem* 'Machtsche, the drummer, scratched his hirsute side of the face without looking at any one.' Stranger cases are the following: *es nemt on a schrek ousherendig zej* 'it seizes one with terror to listen to them,' *zwischen uns rejdendig* 'between us speaking,' *schreckliche zachen was herendig werd farkilt dos blut* 'terrible things, hearing which the blood coagulates,' *wer es hot nischt Got in harzen zezt zich ouf im rajtendig* 'everybody who has not God in his heart mounts him.'

Since there are practically only three tenses in the Jargon, not much can be said of them. In vivid relation the present is used, and suddenness is expressed by the perfect aspect; for example, *pluzim git es mich a trog arouf, es trogt mich alz hecher, hecher biz ich tap on di erd wu ich bin gelegen un derfil wi di zun bakt*

mir in dem riken 'suddenly I was lifted up, I was carried higher and higher until I touched the earth, where I was lying and felt the sun roasting my back'; continued action is expressed by repeating the verb: *di milch schlejt un zit un zit* 'the milk is standing and keeps on boiling'; sometimes the present is used for the future, as in German: *wos far a nomen git men dem najem nefesch dajnem?* 'what name shall we give to your new soul?' The imperfect tense is used to express usual or repeated action: *zajn esen iz gewejtlich gewên abisel sitschke, amol elliche dare schtiklech bröjt wos ich fleg awekköjfen baj oremelajt mit torbes* 'his food generally consisted of a little chopped oats, at times a few pieces of dry bread that I used to buy from poor people with wallets.'

Style.

Jargon prose is rhythmic. To meet these exigencies of rhythm recourse is frequently had to repetitions, as *zajnē öjgen hoben gekukt wajt, wajt* 'his eyes looked into the distance,' *zej hoben geklert geklert, zich nebich gekrazt, gekrazt un hoben zum sof azöj gezögt* 'they thought for a long time, scratched their heads and finally said,' *gej schöjn, gej* 'do go,' *wos schrajst du, wos?* 'why are you crying?' Often a noun is repeated when only the second one gets the modifying adjective: *jeder fartift zich in zajne gedanken, in zajne trourige gedanken* 'every one is lost in his sad thoughts,' *baj Mechtsche hejbt zich on ouszuschiten a berdel, a gel berdel* 'a yellow beard is making its appearance on Mechtsche's face'; so also the repeated verb may have its modifiers: *der öjлом gejt ous mit ale köjches, me schtarbt, me schtarbt mit ale ejwrim* 'the people's strength is failing, they are faint in all their limbs'; in some repetitions Slavic influence is evident, as in *ich hob geklert, geklert un hob derklert* 'I long thought and came to a conclusion' (cf. Rus. ja dumal, dumal i wydumal).

The most common repetition occurs when synonyms from different languages are given: *der doziger benmejlech hot in der jugent gewandrewet* (Pol.), *gemacht rajzen* 'the above-mentioned prince had travelled much in his youth,' *wu gefint zich azund der schlimmazeldiger* (Ger. + Heb.), *der umgliklicher prinz?* 'where is now the unfortunate prince to be found?' *wos iz mit dir di simche* (Heb.), *di frejd?* 'what cause have you for joy?'; or a Hebrew phrase may be freely translated: *un azöj alz wajter, wajter, bi3 es kumt ous* יִבְצְעֵנִי יְהוָה, *ale kabzonim in ejnem* 'and so

on until all beggars turn out to be together'; frequently the synonyms are all of the same language: *di ejgene hor zenen schön lang behalten, farborgen ouf tomid* 'her natural hair had been put away long ago and forever,' *zores on an ek, on an oufher, on opru* 'troubles without end.'

Alliterations and rhyming of words are not unusual in prose: *mit kind un köjt* (G. Kot?) 'with bag and baggage,' *opgerisen opgeschlisen* 'tattered and torn,' *nischt geschtöjgen* (G. gestiegen?) *nischt geflōjgen* 'a fictitious story'; disgust is expressed by changing the initial consonant to *sch*: *lib schmib* 'do not talk to me about love,' *bang schmang* 'you have no right to be frightened.'

The Jargon style becomes abrupt in vivid narration; this shows itself pre-eminently in the omission of connectives: *nem trog awek ahejm ot a zwej frische bejgel* 'take these two or three fresh doughnuts and carry them home,' *ich wart acht tog—du kumst nischt, noch acht tog—bist nischto* 'I waited eight days and you did not come, eight days longer, and still you were not here'; by leaving out the verb the expression becomes very elliptic: *ot noch ejn minut—ous Stempenju* 'one more minute and Stempenju is gone,' *er schtuft zich azōj op dos ganze leben—un gornischt* 'he thus ekes out his whole life, and that is all.' To this also must be added certain elliptic questions that are very hard to render into English: *Jiden gifzen, Jiden krechzen, Jiden wejnen, un Stempenju? Wer—Stempenju? Was Stempenju?* 'The Jews are sighing, the Jews are groaning, the Jews are crying, and what was Stempenju doing? He was beside himself with enthusiasm.' Rhetorical questions are exceedingly frequent in the Jargon: *er fleg a chap tun dos fidele un a fir tun mitn smik, ejn fir tun, nischt mer, fleg dos schön onhejben baj im reden, ober wi mejnt ir reden?* 'he would get hold of his violin and draw over it the bow just once, not more, when it would begin to speak divinely.' The same abruptness of style causes a main clause to take the place of a temporal or causal subordinate clause: *ich wel ob-risewen di schlot mit ale ire pischtschewkes mit ale mit anander, wet zich schön der lezer mistome onschtojnen was me mejnt do* 'if I shall describe the town with all its smallest details, the reader will certainly understand what is meant by it.'

As in the Slavic and M. H. G., double negatives are used: *dos iz nischt kejn nomen* 'that is no name,' *in Kabzansk iz far zej nischto kejn schum parnose* 'they can earn no livelihood whatsoever in Kabzansk'; a single negative sometimes occurs: *zej*

zenen epes nischt azelche grōjse berjes 'they somehow are no great experts'; otherwise one negative has a restrictive meaning: *lejent in di bichlech wet ir zen az nischt ejn prinz, nischt ejn mejlech iz durch zej ibergekert geworden in a zap* 'read in books and you will see that more than one prince, more than one king, had been changed by them into goats'; sometimes the negative expresses indefiniteness: *wu nit wu* 'somewhere.'

Out of religious piety or for the sake of averting evil influences and the evil eye, a number of formulas are used, which are invariably inserted in connected narratives, no matter whether the writer has any superstitious feelings or not. Such expressions are *nebich, mischtejnsgezogt* 'alas,' *nischt far ajch gedacht* 'may you not be considered in this light,' *kejn anore* (H. עין הרע) 'may no evil eye affect you.' So also in speaking of deceased persons, stereotyped phrases are used, as *zajn tate alwescholem* (H. עליו השלום) 'his father of blessed memory,' *zajn tate zol hoben a lichtigen ganejden* 'his father, may he enter paradise.' An ugly excrescence of these invocations are the oft-occurring protestations and curses: *wi ich bin a Jid* 'as I am a Jew,' *ouf kejn guten ort zol er nit treten* 'may he never enter the good place,' *kejn guten sof zol er nit hoben* 'may he have no good end.'

VI.—EXTRACTS.

The following extracts have been chosen with the view of indicating the different varieties of the Jargon. I begin with the remoter dialects of the South and end with the Germanized form of the Lithuanian. The first extract is from the introduction of O. M. Lifschiz's Russian-Jargon dictionary (*Rúsko-Nowojewréjski Slowár*), third edition, printed at Kieff, 1881:—

נאך איין נאך מוז איך באווארענען, איך ווייס אז דעם עולם¹
וועט אביסיל פריקרע² זיין מיין איסלענען, דאס איז אבער
נאר אין דער היתחלה³, וועט מען זעך⁴ אבער אינגענוועהנען
מיט דיא עטליכע פללים⁵ פין⁶ם שליסקעל, וועט עס געהן וויא
אפידעל⁷.

¹ = G. bewarnen. ² Hebrew, public. ³ Polish, disagreeable. ⁴ = G. auslegen, expound. ⁵ Hebrew, beginning. ⁶ = zich. ⁷ Hebrew, rules. ⁸ = funn.
⁹ it will go like a fiddle = it will be easy.

To illustrate the manner of printing without vowel-signs I quote from the same author's introduction to his Jargon-Russian dictionary, *Žitomir*, 1876:—

ס' איז א ציקאווע² זאך צי זעהען וויא שווער ס' קימט אן³ איידער א נייע זאך ווערד אנגענימען אה דער וועלט, געניג האט מ'ין רוסיש-יודישער ווערטערביך געהאט צי טיהן איידער ער איז איבערגעקומען זיינע סטיגאטערס⁵ מיט זייער שאלות⁶.

The next extract is from S. M. Abramowitsch's satire 'Di Kljatsche' (2d edition, Odessa, 1889):—

א פריש, געשמאק⁷ ווינטעלע האט פאמעליך⁸ געבלאזען אונ פון דיא וואלקענס, פון דעם שטורמווינט איז נישט געווען אפילו⁹ קיין זכר¹⁰ דער אפגעטובעלטער¹¹, אוסגעצוואנגענער¹² וואלד, איז געשטאנען וויא א חתן-בחור¹³, אונגעטאן אין א נייער, גרינער זיפעטצע¹⁴, ערשט פון דער גאדעל, געשיינט אונ געלויבטען¹⁵ וויא דער ליכטיגער מארגענשטערען, וואס האט ערשט טאק¹⁶ געפראכט דיא פרעהליכע בשורה¹⁷, אז אט באלד קומט צופאהרען דיא זון, דיא טהייערע, גילדענע מחותנת¹⁸ טע¹⁹, אונ דיא חתונה²⁰ וועט זיך אנהויבען. אלסדינג האט געלויבטען, געפינקעלט, אלסדינג האט וויא עפס זיך מכין²¹ געווען, אלסדינג האט עפס אויסגעזעהען וויא יום-טובדיג²² אונ אומעטום האט געשמעקט²³ געוויירן, זיסע, ליבע ריחות²⁴ פון בשמים²⁵. — שיין איז דער אנברוד אויף טאג וועסנע-צייט²⁶ אין דעם וואלד, שיין, זעהר שיין! דער בע-

¹ = es. ² Polish, curious. ³ In the South *o* is frequently pronounced like *u*; the author indicates this sound by *u*, but his etymologies are not always reliable. ⁴ before. ⁵ = instigators (?), opponents. ⁶ Hebrew, questionings. ⁷ pleasant. ⁸ Polish, pomalu (?), slowly. ⁹ Hebrew, even. ¹⁰ Hebrew, mention, sign. ¹¹ dressed up (?). ¹² combed, decked out. ¹³ Hebrew, bridegroom. ¹⁴ blouse (?). ¹⁵ shining. ¹⁶ Slavic, just then. ¹⁷ news. ¹⁸ Hebrew, groom's or bride's mother. ¹⁹ Hebrew, wedding. ²⁰ Hebrew, prepare oneself. ²¹ Hebrew, in holiday attire. ²² smell. ²³ odors. ²⁴ Hebrew, spices. ²⁵ Russian and German, springtime.

ריהמטער בליזמר, דער סאלאווייא², האט אנגעשטעלט זיין
פידעל, אפצושפילען א שיינעם, א פיינעם "דאברידזשן".³

The Russian poet Sch. Frug has also written in Jargon; his dialect has a leaning towards the Lithuanian; the stanza quoted is from his poem *א פלאטעל ווי* published in 'Di Jidische Folksbibliothek,' 1889:—

די גאנצע נאטור איז מיין רב" געווען;
זיא האט מיך געלערענט איי⁴ זינגען, אי שפילען,
זי האט מיך געלערענט אי דענקען אי פיהלען
זי האט מיר געצינגט וואס איז מיאום⁵ אונ וואס שייין,
דאס הארץ זאל זיין פריש אונ דער קאפ זאל זיין ניקטער
צו אלץ זאל איך האבען א וואג אונ א מאס....
אונ איך בין געווארען, צו מול⁶ א.... וואס?
א דיקטער, רבותים⁷, א יודישער דיקטער

A. M. Dick writes in the Lithuanian dialect, but with a tendency to introduce German words and constructions; the following passage from the introduction to one of his stories (*דער שבועים-מאלייט* Wilna, 1877) illustrates that tendency:—

איינע קליינע הקדמה⁸

אלע מוראליסטען (דיא פרומע מוכיחים) פערגלייכען דיא
וועלט צו איינעם גרויסען יארמארק (יריד) וואס האט אין זיך
טויזענדע מאל טויזענדע קראמען⁹ וואס זיינען פול אונד פאק
מיט אלער האנד וואארע (סחורה) מאטעריעלע (מגושמדיקע)
דאס הייסט אלער האנד קליידונג אונ עסענווארג¹⁰ וואס ווערען
געפרויכט אום צוא ערהאלטען נור דעם קערפער. אונ
ווידער אלער האנד גייסטליכע וואארע (רוחניות). דאס
הייסט ספרים אונ ביכער וואס זיינען גימאכט אום צוא

¹ Hebrew, músico. ² Russian, nightingale. ³ Polish, good-morning.

⁴ Hebrew, teacher. ⁵ Slavic, both—and. ⁶ Hebrew, ugly. ⁷ Hebrew, fortune.

⁸ Hebrew, gentlemen. ⁹ Hebrew, introduction. ¹⁰ stores. ¹¹ eatables.

גענערען נור דעם גייסט . דאס הייסט איין צו פליסען אין דעם
 מענטשען תורה, חכמה, און מוסר, וויא צו בעגיין ויד מיט
 גאט און מיט לייטען . און דעם מענטשען האפן וויא פערגליכען
 צו איינעם אונערפארעהנעם (אונגעניטען) קויפמאן וואס איז
 גיקומען אויף דיעס גרויסען וועלט מארק צו מאכען איינקויף
 מיט איינעם גאנץ קליינעם קאפיטאל (דאס הייסט מיט קנאפ
 שכל¹ און מיט קנאפע יארין).

The last extract is from a novel in the same dialect as it is
 spoken to-day in New York City (דאס פון א פרמנ) by a
 "litwischen Filo36f," J. Saphirstein, 40 Canal street, New York,
 March 25th, 1893):—

—איך, שרייבער פון דיעזע ציילען, בין א טויטער; איך
 בין געשמארבען. מען האט מיר בעגראבען און פערנעסען.
 איך קען אייך געהן ווייזען מיין קבר, אויב איהר גלויבט מיר
 ניט. פרובירט פרעגען אין מיין געבורט'ס שמאדט וועגען מיר.
 יעדער וועט אייך באלד זאגען, אז איך בין געווען איינער פון
 דיא קרבנות² וואס דיא כאלערא האט צוגענומען אין געאפעל,
 אין יאהר 1884 און אין דיעזע שעהנע איטאליענישע שמאדט
 וועט מען אויך דערצעהלען מיט א זיפץ, וויא יעדער איינער,
 קינד און קייט³, האט געטרויערט אויף מיין אונצייטיגען טויט.
 דאך, לעב איך יעצט! איך פיהל אין מייןע אדערן דיא
 הייסע בלוט פון דרייסיג זומער'ס, איך הער וויא מיין ברוסט
 קלאפט, איך זעה יעצט אין שפיעגעל דיא פארבען אויף מיין
 געזיכט. און דעד טויט האט מיר נור איבערגעלאזען איין
 קליינעם סימן⁴: מיינע שווארצע האר זיינען ווייס געווארען
 וויא שנעע און מיין יונגער קאפ איז איינגעפאסט אין א ווייסען
 ראהם.

LEO WIENER.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA, Mo., April, 1893.

¹ Hebrew, knowledge. ² Hebrew, wisdom. ³ Hebrew, instruction. ⁴ act.

⁵ Hebrew, understanding. ⁶ few. ⁷ Hebrew, grave. ⁸ Hebrew, victims. ⁹ sob.

¹⁰ bag and baggage. ¹¹ Hebrew, sign.